CHAPTER

5

Nation of Nowhere

Jewish Role in Colonial American Chocolate History

Celia D. Shapiro

Introduction

It is hard to say when the story really begins. Was it during the Crusades when pilgrims terrorized non-Christians? Was it in 1242 in Rome when the Inquisition condemned the Talmud—the compilation of commentaries on the Torah and the Old Testament—or in France in 1288 with the first mass burning-at-the-stake of Jews? More likely, the story began in 1391 when the Inquisition moved to Spain and brought with it the mass slaughter of 50,000 Jews in Barcelona, Cordova, Mallorca, Seville, and Toledo (see Chapter 4). The story then moved forward in 1478 when Pope Sixto IV approved the establishment of a Holy Inquisition to discover and punish hidden Jews. And the story became a familiar one with the Spanish Inquisition that Isabella and Ferdinand authorized in 1480, that started in earnest in 1481, and resulted in the great expulsion, a time when blind hatred was institutionalized and the Jews had to leave a country where they had flourished, a country that itself flourished in part because of the Jews.

The year 1492 was particularly important for the Jews of Spain. On March 31, 1492, Isabella and Ferdinand issued the Expulsion Decree that stipulated that within four months all Jews and Jewesses had to leave the kingdom and lands of Spain. On the same day—April 30, 1492—that the decree was publicly announced, Columbus was ordered to equip ships for his voyage to the Indies. Three months later, on July 30, 1492, Inquisitor General Father Tomas de Torquemada, expelled the Jews. Three days after that, August 2, 1492, it was reported that 300,000 Jews left Spain, hoping to settle somewhere they could live in peace. And the following day—August 3, 1492—Columbus set sail. Because of the large number of Jews attempting to leave Spain by ship, he departed from the port of Palos rather than Cadiz.

Known Jews who sailed with Columbus included Roderigo de Triana, a sailor; Luis de Torres, an interpreter fluent in Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic as well as Spanish; Maestre Bernal, a physician; Roderigo Sanchez de Segovia, Queen Isabella's inspector; Marco, a surgeon; and Alfonso de La Calle; a sailor [1]. On October 12, 1492, Columbus reached the West Indies. Some sources report that Roderigo de Triana was the first to sight land [2, 3]; some sources document that Luis de Torres was the first to step ashore. What is known is that de Torres lived in Cuba for a portion of the year 1492, perhaps the first Jew to live in the West Indies, and also was responsible for introducing tobacco to Europe [4, 5].

The two stories were set: the Jews were under constant duress in Spain and Portugal, and at the same time the West Indies were becoming colonized. Eight Jews were expelled from Portugal in 1496, and in 1497 tens of thousands were forcibly converted to Christianity. Amerigo Vespucci wrote that in 1499 Vicente Yáñez

Chocolate: History, Culture, and Heritage. Edited by Grivetti and Shapiro
Copyright © 2009 John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Pinzón, a Spaniard, "discovered" Brazil; in 1500, Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, a Portuguese, made the same "discovery" [6]. Voyaging with de Cabral was a Jewish mariner, Gaspar da Gama.

Chocolate enters this story of Jewish expulsion in 1527 in Spain, when Hernando Cortés arrived home from his voyage bringing cacao, and the recipes and tools for preparing it [7]. Jews continued to leave the Iberian Peninsula and they took their knowledge of cacao and chocolate production with them to Amsterdam and the West Indies. Some historians report that Jews were responsible for introducing chocolate to France (see Chapter 42) [8].

The story of Jews and chocolate is one not previously explored in depth. The search has been intriguing and sometimes difficult. Documentation is complicated due to a large number of terms, some with dual meanings that have also changed through time (see Appendix 1). Further confounding the search have been spelling variations for even common terms, and more so with family surnames. It commonly is accepted, for example, that the spelling system of the English language did not normalize until the mid-1600s, and it was not until the 1800s that most words had standardized spelling. For the period under consideration in this chapter, it was common to find variant spellings of common and proper nouns. To complicate matters even more, the people who are the focus of this chapter were comfortable using a multiplicity of languages: Dutch, Hebrew, Ladino, Portuguese, Spanish, and Yiddish. To simplify reading, therefore, the most common spelling variant is used unless the word is set within a direct quotation.

The spelling of personal names becomes even more complicated. In his book *500 Years in the Jewish Caribbean*, Harry Ezratty describes the multiple names that Jewish persons might have [9]. Sephardim, for example, often had Hebrew first names (perhaps Elihu or Solomon); their family names frequently were place names (i.e., Toledo = city in Spain), trade names (i.e., Mercado = merchant), or Arabic names (i.e., Abudiente = father of *diente*). To emphasize a family's commitment to Judaism, a Hebrew name might be added to the family name (i.e., Cohen-Toledo). To tease historians even more, an alias often was assumed when traveling or in business matters to prevent retaliation if discovered by the Inquisition or its agents. The following is an example.

> *The legendary Amsterdam ship owner, Manuel Rodrigues, elsewhere was known as Jacob Tirado. Tirado or Tyrado may also have assumed the names Guimes Lopez da Costa or Simon Lopez da Costa*, [10, 11]

The variable-names puzzle was made even more difficult by lack of uniform spellings. Arnold Wiznitzer in his important text, "The Members of the Brazilian Jewish Community (1648–1653)," provides the following example.

> *Benjamin Sarfatti de Pinah signed his name sometimes as Binjamy Sarfatti and sometimes as Binjamy de Pinah. The signature of Arao depina appears as Aron and Aharon Serfatty. The name of Isque Montesinos also appears as Isque Montissinos Mesquita. Jehosuah Jessurn de Haro signed his name as Josua de Haro. Three men had identical names: David Senior Coronel*. [12]

In the present chapter, the most common spelling of the name is used.

The Nation of Nowhere

The Jewish people do not have a history of using chocolate in food or in religious observance. Chocolate does not play a role in the storytelling of the nation. Rather, the Jewish involvement is all about supporting oneself in a new location—again and again and again. The story of the Jewish role in the history of chocolate in Colonial America is really the story of the nation of Jews—a nation of nowhere. All of the groups involved in the history of chocolate in Colonial America have common motivations—often economic growth, frequently territorial expansion, sometimes a search for new personal liberties. Jews, however, unlike the Spaniards, Portuguese, French, and Dutch, do not have a geographic boundary to their cohort.

THE 1500–1600S: A DIVERGING STORY

The 1500s and early 1600s brought more events—both good and terrible—that are important for understanding the story behind the history of chocolate in Colonial America. In 1530 Jews already expelled from Spain landed in Jamaica and made Spanish Town (also known as St. Jago de la Vega) their home. In 1531, the Inquisition was extended to Portugal by Pope Leo X. In 1532, sugar cane was imported to Brazil from Madeira by a marrano. In 1540, the Jews were expelled from the Kingdom of Naples, and ten years after that from Genoa and Venice. On February 7, 1569, Philip the Second of Spain ordered by royal patent that the Inquisition be established in the Americas [13]. In 1536, the first *auto de fé* took place in Mexico (see Chapter 4). Next came an event that would have a direct and very powerful effect on the history of chocolate in Colonial America: Holland achieved independence from Spain in 1581. In 1585, Joachim Gaunse (or Ganz) landed on Roanoke Island and became the first known Jew in what is today the United States [14]. In 1588, England defeated the Spanish Armada, weakening Spain and thus decreasing the reach of the Inquisition in Europe, especially in the Netherlands. In 1591, however, the

Inquisition arrived in Brazil via the Portuguese; and in 1593, Pope Clement VIII, through the *Caeca et obdurate*, expelled the Jews from all the Papal states except Rome and Ancona.

In 1596, Yom Kippur services were held for the first time in Amsterdam. The services, though controversial, were held openly. This privilege of free worship, however, remained uncommon. In Lisbon in 1605, Freo Diogo Da Assumpacao, a partly Jewish friar who embraced Judaism, was burned alive. In Hamburg, as early as 1612, the city council permitted Sephardic Jews from Portugal to take up residence. It was recorded that these Jews

> *were tradespeople [sic] who specialized in the wholesale trade of exotic goods such as tobacco, sugar, coffee, cocoa, calico, and spices*. [15]

In France in 1615, King Louis XIII decreed that all Jews must leave the country within one month or face death. And in Persia in 1619, Shah Abbasi of the Persian Sufi dynasty increased persecution of the Jews and forced many to outwardly practice Islam. Around the world, the Jews became wary and sought refuge.

In 1620, the Jewish connection to the history of chocolate in Colonial America and the Jewish pursuit of safety took a major step when the Dutch West Indies Company was formed with Jewish stockholders. In that same year, Christian Puritans began to immigrate to America. Also in 1620, in Brazil, Joseph Nunes de Fonseca—known later as David Nassy or David the Leader—was born, probably in Recife, Brazil. In 1624, the Jews in Recife, some of whom had been living quietly as conversos, united and organized a colony. Six hundred of the leading Jews of Holland joined them [16]. The Dutch declared religious tolerance in 1624 in Brazil and the situation was peaceful. In 1630 the Dutch captured Pernambuco and transferred the capital to Recife.

During the same period in central Europe, in Vienna in 1625, the Jews were forced to move into Leopoldstadt, a ghetto [17]. In Spain in 1632, Miguel and Isabel Rodreguese (and five others) were burned alive in front of the King and Queen after being discovered holding Jewish rites. Hatred and chocolate came together in 1691 in Bayonne, France, when Christian chocolate makers obtained an injunction to prevent Jewish chocolate makers from selling to private customers within the walls of the city [18]. It was not until 1767 that Jewish chocolate makers in Bordeaux received permission from Parliament to sell chocolate in Bayonne (see Chapter 42).

Given this tumult in Europe, the mid-1600s were a period when Jews willingly came to many of the Caribbean nations as well as to Brazil, and they soon arrived in Barbados, Curaçao, and Surinam [19]. In 1634, Samuel Coheno became the first Jew to set foot on and establish himself in Curaçao. He was an interpreter, pilot, and Indian guide for Johan van Walbeeck, the Dutch naval commander who took Curaçao from the Spanish. The Jews were comfortable in the West Indies, but as they moved to the Spanish- and Portuguese-held areas surrounding the West Indies, they reencountered the Inquisition. On April 13, 1638, in Mexico City, Tomas Tremino de Sobremonte was tried. The evidence about him included the fact that he had offered chocolate to men accusing him of not being a Christian [20]. In 1639, in Lima, Peru, more than 80 New Christians were burned at the stake after the Inquisition caught them holding regular Jewish services [21]. Mexico City was the site of repeated Inquisition horror. Gabriel de Granada, a young man, was accused in October 1642, January 1643, and May 1643. On all three occasions part of his guilt was related to chocolate: his relatives sent eggs and chocolate to a mourner, his close relative put chocolate aside for him to eat, and his close relative did not serve chocolate to other people because they were observing the Yom Kippur fast and could not eat [22]. There is some thought that the refusal to drink chocolate during the Yom Kippur fast was "a kind of code" among secret Jews in Mexico [23]. The Inquisition in Mexico peaked in 1649 when, in the largest *auto de fé* ever held in the New World, 109 crypto-Jews were accused of Judaizing and several were burned alive.

It was years before the Inquisition would end. In Madrid in 1680, Inquisition officials were serving biscuits and chocolate to the guests of an *auto de fé* (Fig. 5.1) [24]. A few years earlier, Roger Williams, a Puritan minister, was banished from Salem, Massachusetts, when he proposed that Jews, Turks, and all others be granted the right to worship in their own ways. Williams established Rhode Island and instituted religious tolerance and separation of church and state. Those precedents led to the colony of Rhode Island granting religious liberty to Jews in 1658. The stage was set for the eventual immigration of Jews to and participation in the life of Colonial America. But before then, they found at least partial sanctuary in Amsterdam and the West Indies.

EMANCIPATION: AMSTERDAM

The Dutch decided as early as 1588 to recognize and provide governmental protection to Jews. As David Liss wrote in *The Coffee Trader: A Novel*:

> *To those of us who had lived under the thumb of the Inquisition, or in lands such as England where our religion was outlawed, or in places such as the cities of the Turks where it was barely tolerated, to dwell in Amsterdam seemed a small taste of the World to Come. We were free to congregate and observe our holidays and our rituals, to study our texts in the*

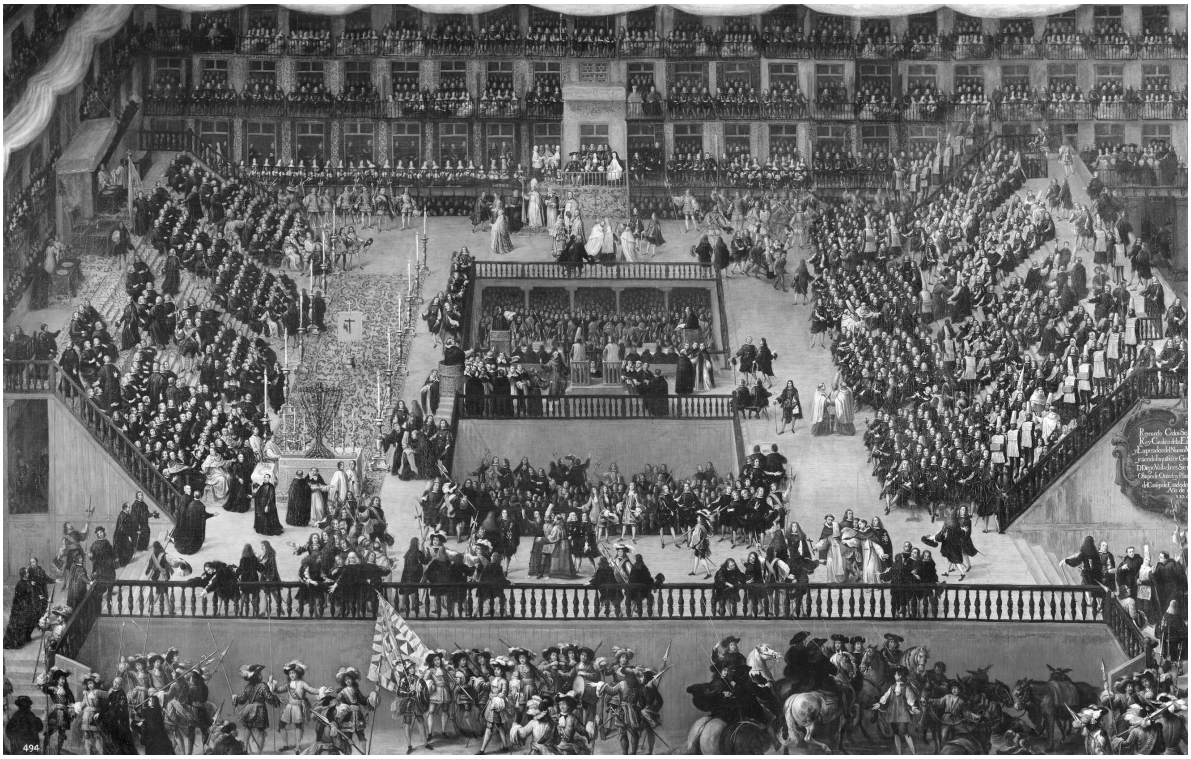

FIGURE 5.1. *Auto de fé* of June 30, 1680, Plaza Mayor, Madrid, by Francisco Ricci. Date: 1683. *Source*: Courtesy of the Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, Spain. (Used with permission.) (See color insert.)

> *light of day. For us who belonged to a small nation, cursed with having no land to call our own, the simple freedom to live as we chose was a kind of bliss*. [25]

Simply put: "the racial stigma the 'Men of the Nation' had encountered in the [Iberian] Peninsula . . . was absent in the Netherlands" [26].

The Dutch West Indies Company was formed in 1620 with a primary goal of rapidly acquiring wealth [27]. Jews immediately became stockholders and were able to exert influence at times that were critical for the survival of their co-religionists. The list of "main-participants" for 1656 includes seven Jewish names out of 167; the list for 1658 includes 11 Jewish names. An unpublished list of 1674 includes the names Antonio Lopes Suasso, Johacob de Pinto, Simon and Louis Rodriques de Sousa, Jeronimus Nunes da Costa, and Jacob and Moses Nunes Rodrigues—all names that appear time and time again in the history of chocolate in Colonial America [28].

NEW LANDS: THE WEST INDIES, VENEZUELA, AND BRAZIL

Colonization of the West Indies offered the nation of Jews a chance to save themselves and their religion. In 1641 in Recife, Brazil, the first synagogue in the New World, Kahal Zur Israel, was built on Rua dos Judeus (Street of Jews). Also in that year, Isaac Aboab da Fonseca became the first Haham in the New World. Soon after, the Jewish community in Recife numbered between 2000 and 3000 persons. In 1644, the first Jews arrived in Paramaribo; and in 1652, a second group of Jewish settlers came to Surinam with Lord Willoughby of Parham. In 1654, Jewish settlers arrived in Guadeloupe and Haiti [29].

Even as the Jews settled in the colonies and contributed to the well-being of the West Indian islands, there were problems. The Jewish history in Curaçao exemplifies this struggle. Peter Stuyvesant, the Governor of Curaçao, objected to the equal treatment of the Jews. Fortunately for the Jews, the Directors of the Dutch West Indies Company believed in the value that the Jews were adding to the community. On March 21, 1651, the Directors wrote to Stuyvesant and upheld their contract with Jaoa d'Yllan (also known as Jan de Illan) to bring Jews to Curaçao [30].

The Jews were comfortable in many of the West Indian colonies. In 1654, the Dutch granted civil rights to the Jews of Guiana. That document began, "To the People of the Hebrew nation that are to goe [*sic*] to the Wilde Cust [*sic*]" [31]. In 1658, Josua Nunez Netto and Joseph Pereira, Jews specializing in different Arawak dialects and serving as translators between the English and Dutch authorities and the native Indian tribes, arrived in Pomeroon, Guiana. The native Indians had their own system for processing cocoa and

the Jews learned it [32]. Also in 1658, Jews arrived in Tobago. On September 12, 1659, Jews from Recife under the leadership of David Nassy arrived in Cayenne [33]. In 1660, 152 Jews from Livorno settled in Cayenne [33]. In May 1664, after the fall of Cayenne, some of these Dutch–Portuguese–Brazilian Jews expanded the community in Surinam when they moved there under Nassy's leadership [34]. On April 8, 1661, Benjamin de Caseres, Henry de Caseres, and Jacob Fraso petitioned the King of England for permission to "live and trade in Barbados and Surinam," and their request was granted [35].

The Jews' serious involvement with cocoa in the New World began in 1654 when Benjamin d'Acosta de Andrade arrived in Martinique. With knowledge acquired from Native Indians, it is thought that he established the first cocoa-producing plant in the New World. The monk Jean-Baptiste Labat wrote:

> *Un Juif nommé Benjamin y planta la première vers l'année 1660* . . . [A Jew named Benjamin planted there (Martinique) the first (cocoa tree) in approximately the year 1660. . . .] [36]

It also is written of d'Acosta de Andrade that:

> *One special target of Jesuits was Benjamin d'Acosta de Andrade. He owned two sugar refineries and was the first to process and manufacture cocoa in a French territory. He exported his product to France, calling it chocolate*. [37–39]

D'Acosta de Andrade based his work on the Mexican production of chocolate. Then, using international connections, the Jews entered the worldwide cocoa business. What were these international connections? They appear to have been of two sorts: the business connections best exemplified by the Dutch West Indies Company, and the family relationships all over Europe and, starting in 1654, in New Amsterdam in North America [40]. Herbert Bloom has written: "Meanwhile more Jewish settlers had been coming from Holland [to New Amsterdam], among them, in 1655, Joseph da Costa, a large shareholder in the West India Company" [41]. It is hard not to speculate that Joseph *da Costa* and Benjamin *d'Acosta* de Andrade belonged to the same family of Sephardic Jews who came from Portugal to England and the West Indies. With da Costa's arrival in New Amsterdam, the trade routes from the West Indies to Europe as well as the trade route from the West Indies to New Amsterdam were in place.

By 1655, just five years after d'Acosta de Andrade arrived, the Jews of Amsterdam were buying cocoa from Curaçao and that cocoa business continued to grow [42]. In 1661, the Jews of Curaçao exchanged manufactured goods for tobacco, hides, coffee, corn, powdered gold, and cocoa with the Jews of Coro, Venezuela [43]. In the late 1600s, de Andrade and others were shipping cocoa grown in Venezuela to Amsterdam for processing. "In 1688, the English treasury allowed Peter Henriques of London . . . to import twenty tons of cocoa from Holland. . . . It originated in the Spanish West Indies, reached Holland through Curaçao and was then transferred to England" [44]. In 1693, Jews traveled from Curaçao to Tucacas (Venezuela) to make large-scale purchases of cocoa to send back to Curaçao [45]. In 1711, Juan Jacobo Montero de Espinos, the mayor of Coro, wrote that 12,000 bales of cocoa were exported from the Tucacas valley by the Jews [46]. In 1722, it was reported that Jews were present in Tucacas in January and July at the fairs when the cocoa beans were collected [47]. Montero de Espinos also arranged attacks on several mule trains carrying cocoa beans to the Jews of Tucacas [48].

The Jews in the New World also were involved in the related businesses of sugar and vanilla production. In 1663, in Surinam, David Mercato (also known as David de Mercado) found a new way to build sugar mills [49]. On March 31, 1684, Abraham Beekman, an official in Essequibo, Guiana, wrote to the Dutch West Indies Company that Salomon de la Roche had died and no one else could be found to process vanilla—which Beekman had used in chocolate [50].

Cocoa production—despite its attendant problems—was a more and more important activity in the West Indies. On December 17, 1671, Sir Thomas Lynch, the Governor of Jamaica, wrote:

> *What falls heaviest on them [the Jews] is the blasting of their cocoas; fear most of the old trees will die, as in San Domingo and Cuba; yet hopes to pick up a few nuts for the King and his Lordship, with a bunch or two of vanillas; and hopes to send his Majesty some off his own land, for he is sending a Jew to the inland provinces where the vine grows to see whether he can cure any*. [51]

In 1700, Samuel Beekman wrote to the Directors of the Dutch West Indies Company that he was trading salt fish for cocoa and sending them:

> . . . *an anker of cocoa, together with twelve cakes of chocolate, as a sample, hoping the same will please well*. [52]

By 1708, cocoa production was the principal reason that settlers came to Jamaica [53–55].

In 1682, cocoa was imported to Curaçao at 22–25 pesos per hundredweight and the cocoa export duty was set at 2.5 percent [56]. In 1684, chocolate was the most important export of Martinique, but that changed in 1685 with the publication of the law known as the *Code Noir*. The law stated, in part:

> *We command all our officers to chase out of our islands all Jews who have established their residence there whom as declared enemies of the Christian faith we command to get out in three months counting from the day of the publication of these results upon penalty of confiscation of their persons and property" [57]. More simply, the* Code Noir *called for the expulsion of the Jews from all French islands.*

D'Acosta de Andrade, father of the cocoa business in Martinique, left for Curaçao, the Dutch haven. During the years 1704 through 1731, Jacob Andrade da Costa, another member of the extended family, operated there as a broker. By some estimates there were 200 Jewish brokers operating in Curaçao between 1660 and 1871 [58]. Marcus writes that Rachel Luis brought in cocoa from Curaçao during this time period [59]. While it would be valuable to include Jewish women in the Colonial American chocolate history, there is no other evidence—save this singular account—of Rachel Luis.

Surinam was especially important to the Jews—both for religious freedom and business opportunities. In 1669, Governor Capitän Phillipe Julius Lichtenberg formally promised that the Jews would be allowed free exercise of religion and all the other privileges granted by the English [60]. The congregation in Surinam included many traders, among them David Nassy, Isaac Pereira, Abraham de Fonseca, Jacob Nunez, Isaac da Costa, and Benjamin da Costa. By 1700, the Jewish community had grown to 90 Sephardic families. In 1706, Surinam exported 900 pounds of cocoa, and by 1730, Surinam, with its plantation-based economy—sugar cane, coffee, and chocolate—was the leading community of the Americas, far surpassing Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Lavaux's map of 1737 shows 436 plantations of sugar, coffee, cocoa, wood, and cotton [61].

Jewish-related cocoa production and export continued to grow in the West Indies. In Curaçao in 1734, there were 40 Jewish marine insurance brokers [62]. On May 7, 1741, in the Bill "An act for raising several sums of money and applying the same to several uses," the Jamaican House of Assembly decided that Jews should pay extra tax on cocoa because they "are a very wealthy body . . . if they ever do import cocoa . . . they generally contrive to avoid paying any duty on it" [63]. This act was passed after Governor Edward Trelawny rescinded his earlier promise of April 16, 1739 not to levy a special tax on the Jews [64]. In 1744, Luis Diaz Navarro wrote that the Jamaican Jews "erected tents on the land and kept their merchandise in them, and the citizens of Cartago [Costa Rica] would come to the fair twice a year to sell cacao" [65]. Also in 1774, Edward Long, the secretary of the governor, wrote from Spanish Town, Jamaica:

> *The Jews here are remarkably healthy and long lived . . . [they] may owe their good health and longevity, as well as their fertility, to a sparring use of strong liquers, early rising, indulgence in garlic and fish, Mosaic laws, sugar, chocolate, and fast*. [66]

In Surinam between 1743 and 1781, there were more than 450 shipments of cocoa; almost all went to Amsterdam [67]. In 1745 alone, 674,749 pounds of cocoa were exported [68]. In 1787, 802,724 pounds of cocoa were exported [69]. In 1779, in St. Eustatius, the Jews exported 15,220 pounds of cocoa to North America and 422,770 to the Netherlands [70].

Colonial America

NEW AMSTERDAM

In 1654, the Jews who were prospering in Brazil again met the Portuguese—and the Inquisition. The Portuguese conquered the Dutch Colony of Recife on January 25, 1654, and the Jews were forced to leave. Some settled in safer places in the West Indies, some returned to Amsterdam, and 23 arrived in New Amsterdam on the bark *St. Catarina*. These Brazilian Jews are mentioned in the record of the Burgomasters and Schepens on September 7, 1654 [71]; just five days later, on September 12, 1654, Rosh Hashonah, the Jewish New Year (year 5415), was celebrated for the first time in New Amsterdam [72].

Peter Stuyvesant once again lobbied against the Jews, and once again the Dutch West Indies Company insisted that the Jews could settle in that Colonial American colony. On April 26, 1655, Stuyvesant was instructed that the Jews could reside permanently and trade in New Amsterdam. This decision was influenced by the Dutch history of tolerance, the trading history of the Jews in the West Indies, and the seven (of 167) stockholders who were Sephardic Jews [73]. The Jews were not, however, granted religious freedom at the same time [74]. In 1657, Jews arrived in Rhode Island and for the first time Jews obtained the rights of citizens [75]. In 1661, Asser Levy of Albany became the first Jew to own real estate in New York and, in 1665, became the first Jew to become denized—a status between an alien and a naturalized person—in New York [76].

NEW YORK

In 1664, the English conquered New Amsterdam and the Jews became English subjects of New York. In 1665, Benjamin Bueno de Mesquita was banished from Jamaica and came to New York. Approximately 15 years later, his cousin, Joseph Bueno de Mesquita (known as Joseph Bueno), arrived in New York. He had established trading ties with Surinam by 1685, and as early as 1702 was involved in the cocoa trade [77]. In 1685, the Jews of New York were granted the right to participate in wholesale trade. They became major businessmen who traded with both their co-religionists and the general community, and traded locally, with England, and with the West Indies. Most importantly, they traded in cocoa and chocolate and used chocolate themselves. In their study of New York commerce from 1701 through 1709, Bloch and co-workers found that 12.3 percent of the customs records involved Jewish merchants, 60 percent of the trade went to

Barbados, and these cargoes were mainly cocoa, rum, wine, fur, and fabrics. Isaac Marquez, Moses Levy, and Joseph Nunes were especially active in these transactions [78].

Nathan Simson was one of the earliest and most prominent Colonial Jewish merchants. While the exact date of his arrival in North America is unknown, it most likely was between 1701 and 1704 [79]. Archival documents found in the Nathan Simson Collection, Public Records Office, Kew, England, provide a sense of the Jewish involvement in the early Colonial chocolate trade. How prominent was Simson? Between 1715 and 1722, he was the major Curaçao trader in New York. During those years, "he organized twenty-three voyages to [Curaçao], the equivalent of 13% of all voyages from Manhattan in that period" [80]. Between February 22 and June 1, 1722, a total of 150,000 pounds of cocoa (sold at 13.5 pesos hundredweight) arrived in Curaçao from the Venezuela coast on his behalf [81, 82]. This three-month period was especially notable because, as Abraham Ulloa and Isaac Levy Maduro explained in their letters to Simson, the governor of Caracas was creating trade difficulties for these merchants [83, 84].

Who was Nathan Simson? He seems to have appeared in New York in the early 1700s; he returned to London in 1722 and died there in 1725 [85]. He was granted letters patent in England in 1713 that were recorded years later in New York in 1728 [86]. He was elected constable of the South Ward, New York in 1718 [87]. His correspondence in the Public Record Office collection appears in multiple languages including Dutch, Hebrew, Portuguese, and Yiddish [88]. Records indicate that he participated in international trade in many ports, including Amsterdam, Barbados, Curaçao, Jamaica, and London; he also had kinsmen in many places including Amsterdam, Bonn, and London [89]. In addition to his successes as an international merchant, he was a man who cared about his friends. It is clear from business correspondence that these correspondents took care to personally address each other with flowery salutations before discussing business matters.

How involved in the cocoa trade were other Sephardic Jews? On May 10, 1711, Moses Levy wrote to Samuel Levy that Gomez "can Draw noe [*sic*] more being he can have noe [*sic*] Cocoa" [90]. On May 6, 1715, Benjamin Pereira wrote to Nathan Simson about "foure [sic] Pipes of Cocoa" [91]. On May 27, 1719, a single ledger page shows Simson was conducting cocoa dealings with Isaac Levy, Samuel Levy, Meir Wagg, and Jacob Keiser (of London) [92]. On September 24, 1719, Samuel Levy wrote to Isaac Levy (in London) about cocoa trade with Moros Mitchells, Aron Cohen, and Benjamin Lo(?)os [93]. Aaron Louzada entered the picture in 1721 when he was noted for manufacturing chocolate for Simson [94]. On May 12, 1725, Judah Baruch was trading cocoa with Simson [95]. In sum, the Simson letters reveal many Jewish merchants and many cocoa transactions.

Rodrigo Pacheco's activities provide more evidence of the bidirectional nature of the trading routes and relationships. On February 11 and 14, 1732, James Alexander in Curaçao shipped cocoa to Rodrigo Pacheco in New York [96]. In 1734, a sloop of Pacheco's carried a cargo to Curaçao, where it was loaded with cocoa and lime to be exchanged for rice in Charleston and then sailed to Falmouth [97]. Many trades, many destinations.

Trade among these co-religionists and relatives was especially valuable. By trading with family and friends, merchants could be sure about the other party's reputation and trust that bad practices would be resolved [98]. These connections included all of the West Indies, North America, England, Holland, and those countries that were home to the Jews expelled from the Iberian Peninsula. "These connections were not generally a prearranged geographical or formal economic organization but rather a loose bond of cooperative merchants . . . As economic centers shifted, so did Jewish merchants, creating an informal, self-energizing fraternity usually willing to extend assistance to one another" [99]. A shipping receipt that describes "two pipes and four whole bar of cocoa for my proper account and risqué and goes consigned to Mr. Joseph Levy merchant in London," on behalf of Moses Levy, is just one example of intrafamily trade [100].

Hasia Diner describes the following example of merchant family ties.

> *In the late seventeenth century . . . Louis Moses Gomez, born in Madrid about 1655, emigrated by way of France to New York. There he married Esther Marques, a New Yorker with family ties to Barbados. . . . The sons of Louis Moses and Esther eventually married Rebecca Torres, daughter and sister of Jamaican merchants; the Curaçaoan Esther Levy; and Esther Nunes of Barbados. . . . Daniel's [a son] business associates also included one Miguel Gomez, of the Spanish island of Madeira, perhaps also a relative.* [101]

Through their private correspondence with family members and friends, Jewish merchants often were able to learn of market fluctuations before others. Richard Janeway, among others, frequently apprised Nathan Simson of prices. Janeway wrote that "sugar will fall, cocoa will rise," then he predicted that the price of cocoa would fall.

As late as 1772, a rabbi preached in Spanish to the Newport congregation, more evidence of the influence of the Sephardim, especially Aaron Lopez, recently arrived from Spain and the wealthiest Jew in the American colonies [102].

In addition to being loyal kinsmen and excellent businessmen, the chocolate traders and merchants were part of the larger community of Jews. Frequently, they gave charity (tzedakah—צדקה in Hebrew). It was not uncommon to see an entry, such as for "the poor

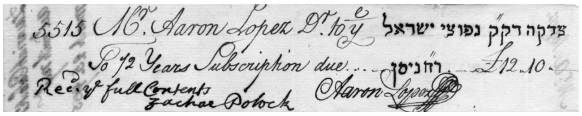

FIGURE 5.2. Tzedakah receipt (pledge of charity to synagogue) signed by Aaron Lopez. *Source*: Aaron Lopez Collection (P-11), Box 12, Miscellaneous. Accounts–Household. Courtesy of the Americana Jewish Historical Society, New York. (Used with permission.)

of the nation" in merchants' account books or for pledges of charity made to the synagogue (Fig. 5.2).

An interesting example of chocolate tzedakah is the story of Judah Abraham. When he suffered financial reverses and left the Newport community for Surinam, the Newport synagogue provided him with

> *an iron cooking pot, 40 pounds of kosher beef, 28 pounds of bread, one half pound of tea, six pounds of sugar, and two pounds of chocolate*. [103]

Leo Hershkowitz, writing in *American Jewish History,* provided key economic information for 13 Colonial New York Jews. These inventories "list all property owned by the deceased, including personal possessions, real estate, cash on hand, debts owed to others, and debts owed to the estate." Data derived primarily from these inventories (Table 5.1) show chocolate-related items in the estates of Joseph Tores Nunes, Joseph Bueno de Mesquita (known as Joseph Bueno, the same Bueno who unloaded English-bound cocoa in New York while he waited for a better price), Isaac Pinheiro, Abraham de Lucena, Isaac Levy, and Mordecai Gomez. These accounts provide additional evidence of the important role that Jewish businessmen played in the Colonial chocolate business [104, 105].

Data presented in Table 5.1 also reveal that the executors and assessors were either Jewish or well-known local personalities. The currency abbreviations of the day included: "£" for English pounds, "s" for Dutch *stivers,* a coin commonly used within the Caribbean and coastal South America, and "f " for Dutch florins (alternatively called guilders). The Isaac Levy inventory was taken on September 18, 1745, but was not recorded until 1748. By 1751, Daniel Gomez, who was an overseer of the accounting for Modecai Gomez's estate, "did business with New York, Boston, New Haven, New London, Norwalk, Newport, Pennsylvania, Amboy, Raritan, Princeton, South Carolina, and Maryland. He had business connections with Madeira, Barbados, Curaçao, London, Dublin, and Liverpool" [106].

How did it happen that these Jews of New York became traders? When the Dutch West Indies Company granted the Jews the right to settle in New Amsterdam, the Jews did not receive the right to participate in the retail trade. Under English administration, the exclusion continued. Thus, being unable to "sell," the Jews became importers. When the Jews were expelled from Brazil and dispersed among the West Indies islands, the trading network was established. Although the distance between the West Indies and North America was much less than that between New York and Europe, the island crops were different enough to be valuable [107]. Cocoa was one of these trade-worthy crops.

One of the interesting anecdotes about the relationships between and among the Sephardic Jews in the chocolate trade in New York dates to 1722. Moses Levy sued Nathan Simson and Jacob Franks, executors of Samuel Levy's estate. Moses Levy claimed that Samuel Levy sold him spoiled cocoa—cocoa that had salt thrown into it [108]. This is especially interesting because Samuel Levy had been described as "the honestest [*sic*] Jew . . . and a man of the most Easy Temper" [109]. Equally interesting is the fact that Samuel Levy was accused by his own brother. James Alexander, the attorney who represented the estate of Samuel Levy, wrote "probably that other Jews in London knew the trick of putting salt water into cocoa in order to get allowance for damage" [110]. Perhaps this technique explains how the cocoa in the Bueno (de Mesquita) estate came to be spoiled.

At the same time that the chocolate trade in New York City was so vibrant, other men in other areas were involved in smaller ways. In Annapolis, Maryland, Isaac Navarro placed an advertisement in the November 8, 1748, *Maryland Gazette* that read:

> *Notice is hereby given, that at the House of John Campbell, Taylor, in the City of Annapolis, the Subscriber makes and sells as good Chocolate as was every made in England, at 4s. 6d. per Pound*. [111]

Uriah Hendricks, a Dutch Jew and the forebear of the Colonial Jewish family that became so important to the copper trade, came to North America in 1755. He opened a dry goods store in lower Manhattan, where he traded chocolate [112]. Samuel Jacobs had a small store in St. Denis, Quebec. In 1764, his store inventory was 3.7 percent foodstuffs, including rice, cheese, and chocolate [113]. Abraham Wagg was in the grocery and chocolate business in New York in 1770, and Michael Gratz used the Globe Mill in Philadelphia to make mustard and chocolate in 1773 [114, 115].

A Jewish woman appears in the chocolate business around this time. On December 2, 1780, Rebecca Gomez (née de Lucena) placed the following advertisement in New York City's *Royal Gazette*: "Has for sale at the Chocolate Manufactory . . . Superfine warranted Chocolate, wholesale and retail" [116] (Fig. 5.3)."

Table 5.1 **Chocolate Inventories: Prominent New York Jewish Households**

Name	Date of Birth	Date of Death	Date of Inventory	Assessors and Executors	Chocolate-Related Entries
Joseph Tores Nunes[a]	Unknown	10/2/1704	10/8/1700	Lewis Gomes	An old Coat & small parcel cocoa, [value] 3s;
Joseph Bueno de Mesquita (Joseph Bueno)[a]	1611	11/1/1708	11/12/1708	Luis Gomes, Abraham de Lucena, Rachel (Dovale) Bueno	25 Baggs of Cocoa wt. 37 lb. [a bag at 4.3?] [value] £185; 1 Chocolate Stone to Justus Buss; [value] 11s; 1 Chocolate Stone & Router to Giles Shelly, [value] 9s 6f; No. 11 Bag cocoa 1-2-21 wt to Ab. De Lucena, 5 lbs [missing], [value] £8 8s 9f; No. 21 [ditto] 1-3-9 to [ditto] 4 lbs. 16, [value] £8 15s 8f; No. 31 [ditto] 1-2-3 to Moses Levy but was returned on March 28, 1709; 22 Bags [ditto] 18-2-27 to Ab. De Lucena, 5 lb., [value] £93 14s 2f; 10 Bagg [ditto] 15-3-6 [ditto] 3 lb. 19, [value] £62 8s 6f; 1 Bag damaged Cocoa returned by Moses Levy after sold 1-1-11 to Justus Buss @12/1 d, 16s; No. 1 Bag Cocoa that was formerly sold to Mr. Levey 29 lb.[?] [value] 6s; 1710 (payment to) Ab. De Peyster for attachment of cocoa, [value] 9s 15f.
Isaac Pinheiro[a]	1636	2/17/1710	2/22/1710	Will Anderson Wm Chambers	$\frac{1}{2}$ Bar[ell] Coca wt 24 lbs, [value] 18s; 3 Course earthen Dishes, 3 Bassins, 10 plates, 2 porringers, one of y[he]m broke, 1 Mugg, 1 Mustard Pot, 10 Chocolate Cups of wh[i]ch 3 are broken & 1 Cann, [value] 14s; 1 Pr. Money Scales & about 6 lb. of Chocolate, [value] 15s 9f.
Abraham de Lucena[b]	Unknown	8/4/1725	9/22/1725	Robt. Lustig, Fra. Harison	1 Brass Candlestick, 1 Gridiron, 1 pr. Tongs, 1 Copper chocalet Pott, [value] 6s 6f.
Isaac Levy[b]	Unknown	8/27/1745	9/18/1745	Not identified	4 Duss Shokelate [Knifs] @6/, [value] £1 4s; 1 Duss Shokelate knifes @7/6d, [value] 7s 6f; $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of Shokelate @2/, [value] 9s.
Mordecai Gomez[b,c]	1688	11/1/1750	11/12/1750	Daniel Gomez, David Gomez, Isaac Gomez, Benjamin Gomez, Isaac Gomez, Jr.	1 Chocolate [pott], no value given; 16 Chocolate Cupps, [broken & whole], no value given; 2 boxes Chocolate—50 lbs. Each, no value given; 6 Surunis Coco [Surinam], no value given.

Sources:
[a]Hershkowitz, L. Original inventories of early New York Jews (1682–1763). *American Jewish History* 2002;90(3)239–321.
[b]Hershkowitz, L. Original inventories of early New York Jews (1682–1763) (Concluded). *American Jewish History* 2002;90(4)385–448.
[c]Gomez Family (P-62), Box 1, Inventory of Estate, American Jewish Historical Society, New York.

Howard Sachar writes in *A History of the Jews in America* that "By mid-century, Jews accounted for possibly 15 percent of the colonies' import–export firms, dealing largely in cocoa, run, wine, fur, and textiles" [117]. That trade had been important in New Amsterdam/New York since the early 1700s; by the later 1700s, it also was important in Newport, Rhode Island.

NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

It is not clear from where or when the first Jews arrived in Newport, Rhode Island. Some early Jewish families arrived from Holland in 1658 [118]; other accounts report that some of the Jews of Newport came from Jamaica in 1658, and still others have written that the

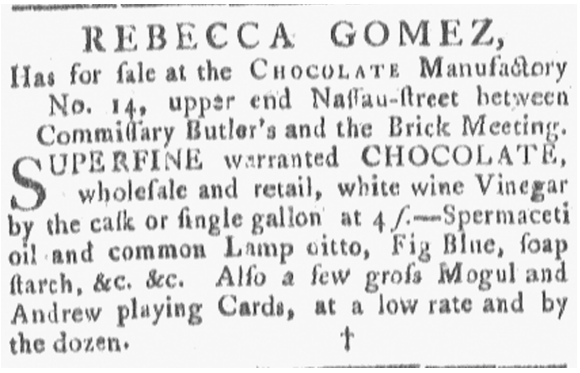
REBECCA GOMEZ,
Has for sale at the CHOCOLATE Manufactory No. 14, upper end Naſſau-ſtreet between Commiſſary Butler's and the Brick Meeting.
SUPERFINE warranted CHOCOLATE, wholeſale and retail, white wine Vinegar by the caſk or ſingle gallon at 4 *ſ.*—Spermaceti oil and common Lamp ditto, Fig Blue, ſoap ſtarch, &c. &c. Alſo a few groſs Mogul and Andrew playing Cards, at a low rate and by the dozen. †

FIGURE 5.3. Chocolate advertisement by Rebecca Gomez. *Source*: *Royal Gazette*, February 12, 1780, Issue 436, p. 3. Courtesy of Readex/Newsbank, Naples, FL. (Used with permission.)

Newport Jews emigrated from Barbados in 1678 [119]. What is certain, however, is that "on August 24th, 1694, a ship arrived at Newport . . . from one of the West India islands, with a number of Jewish families of wealth and respectability on board" [120].

Joseph Bueno was the first Newport Jewish trader to buy large amounts of Curaçao cocoa. This is the same Joseph Bueno who received a license to trade and traffic within the City of New York on February 8, 1683 [121]. A November 19, 1703 document in the Rhode Island State Archives reveals the following:

> *Mr Joseph Bueno . . . having a bond of yours in my hand . . . for three thousand three hundred sixty . . . of . . . Cocoa . . . Corraso payable at Corraso.* [122]

On April 28, 1704, the records show that Bueno purchased "twenty four thousand waight [*sic*] of Coko" [123]. Also in 1704, Bueno was accused of trying to keep cocoa in New York instead of sending it on to London because the market in London was depressed [124]. Despite this early trading, however, the chocolate business in Newport did not develop and expand until the arrival of Aaron Lopez.

Aaron Lopez was born Duarte Lopez in 1731 in Portugal, where his parents were members of the Converso community. As a young adult, he was interested in practicing Judaism and he immigrated directly to North America, arriving in Newport in October 1752 [125]. Aaron Lopez was Colonial Newport's most important merchant—without regard to religion—and also was one of Colonial Jewry's most important citizens. On October 15, 1762, he became the first Jew to be naturalized in America, an event that took place in Massachusetts where Lopez had a summer home [126].

Aaron Lopez was widely respected. As Charles P. Daly, Chief Justice, Court of Common Pleas of New York, wrote in his 1853 monographs, *The Settlement of the Jews in North America*: "At the breaking out of the American Revolution he [Lopez] was himself the owner of thirty vessels engaged in European and West India trade and the whale fisheries, and was then and for some years previously looked upon as the most eminent and successful merchant in New England" [127]. At Lopez's death, Ezra Stiles, the President of Yale, composed his epitaph.

> *He was a merchant of eminence, of polite and amiable manners. Hospitality, liberality, and benevolence were his true characteristics. An ornament and valuable pillar to the Jewish society, of which he was a member. His knowledge in commerce was unbounded and his integrity irreproachable; thus he lived and died, much regretted, esteemed and loved by all.* [128]

Not all of Lopez's business, however, was with his co-religionists in the West Indies, New York, and Europe. As an example, in December 1760, Joseph and William Rotch of Nantucket reported to Lopez about the chocolate, molasses, and rum they sold on his account [129]. Most interestingly, in Lopez's Newport ledger books from 1766 through 1769, there are many instances of his doing business with a Negro named Prince Updike. Lopez delivered raw cocoa to Updike and Updike returned ground chocolate for which he received five shillings for every pound prepared [130, 131]. Between 1766 and 1767, Updike produced 2000 pounds of chocolate from 2500 pounds of cocoa, and between 1768 and 1769, Updike produced 4000 pounds of ground chocolate from 5000 pounds of cocoa (Fig. 5.4) [132].

As Frances Fitzgerald wrote in *The New Yorker*: "Slaves were a part of the fabric of life in pre-Revolutionary New England, and in the 1770s Rhode Island had more slaves per capita than any other New England colony. According to the 1774 [Rhode Island] census, 3,761 people—6.3 per cent of Rhode Island's population—were 'Negroes,' and it can be assumed that most of them were enslaved" [133]. Lopez's records contain transactions with many Negro customers, both free and slave, and the status of Prince Updike between 1766 and 1769 is not clear.

Lopez conducted his business in English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish, with additional use of Hebrew and Yiddish. His Sephardic roots stayed with him. The Colonial Jews continued observing their religious practices—many remained kosher. The Revolution brought food shortages for everyone; especially kosher Jews. In 1779, Lopez wrote to Joseph Anthony that the Jews were "forced to subsist on chocolate and coffee" [134]. The Revolution also cost Lopez his fortune: he died insolvent because of his support of the American cause [135]. Aaron Lopez had been an innovative man: he came straight to America without stopping in England, he was the patriarch of a large and successful family, he was prosperous to the point of being one of the richest men in Newport, and he was a major importer of cocoa and producer of chocolate.

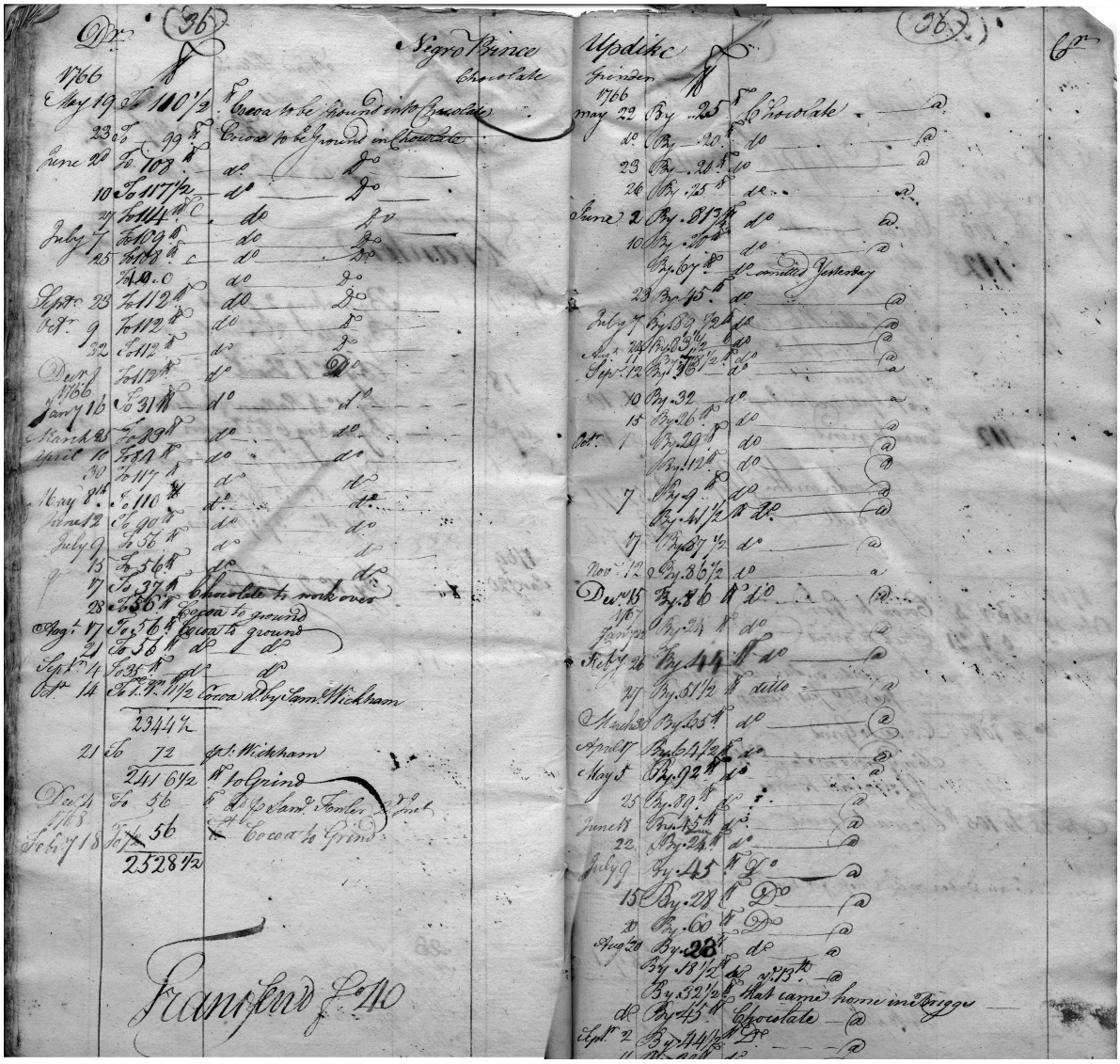

FIGURE 5.4. Aaron Lopez's ledger Negro Prince Updike for the year 1766. Notation for Updike grinding cacao. *Source*: Aaron Lopez Collection, Lopez Account Book 715, p. 37, left. Courtesy of the Newport Historical Society, Newport, RI. (Used with permission.)

Conclusion

How does the story of the Jewish involvement in chocolate play out? The relationship continued, but the intensity decreased. Levy Solomons was one of the first to manufacture chocolate in Albany. On March 29, 1829, he extended his lease at Rennslaerville, where he manufactured chocolate, for one year at $200 per annum [136]. Daniel L. M. Peixotto, a medical doctor, published a circular on August 1, 1832, in New York City, that suggested that Jews not observe the Tisha B'av fast during cholera season. He wrote that instead of fasting, "a slight meal, say of coffee, tea, or cocoa, with dry toast, be allowed" [137]. In 1910, *Haibri*, a Hebrew periodical founded in Berlin that circulated in America, carried advertisements for Suchard chocolate [138]. In 1931, Carl M. Loeb & Company acquired a seat on the New York Stock Exchange and provided merchant banking for houses trading in rubber, hides, and cocoa [139]. In 1941, chocolate matzo bars were introduced for Passover, and chocolate *alef-bet* bars and boxes were introduced for Hanukkah [140].

The number of Sephardic Jews in North America—the Jews who originally were interwoven with the story and business of chocolate in Colonial America—has grown proportionally smaller, but their story remains rich. Today, there are many Jews involved in the chocolate life cycle, everything from sustainable agriculture through distribution of a wide variety of products.

History is not just names and dates; it is stories. Strife and poetry: that is the story of the Jewish role

in the history of chocolate in Colonial America. It also is the story of the Spanish Inquisition, which was abolished only on July 15, 1834, by Queen Mother Maria Christina. The Spanish government, however, did not declare the expulsion order void until December 17, 1968—476 years after Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand ordered the Jews expelled. It is impossible not to wonder how the history of chocolate in Colonial America was affected by that long-ago order.

Acknowledgments

I wish to acknowledge the following individuals and institutions for their help and assistance during the research for this chapter: Philip Dikland, Jodensavanne Foundation, Suriname; Sharon Horowitz, African and Middle Eastern Reading Room, Library of Congress; Lois Kampinsky, independent film producer; Joann Lesser, Adas Israel Synagogue Library; Bertram Lippincott III, Newport Historical Society; Jane Mandelbaum, Library of Congress; Jennifer Manuel, American Jewish Archives; Irwin J. Miller, The Jewish Historical Society of Lower Fairfield County, Connecticut; Dan Pine, *The Jewish News Weekly of Northern California*, San Francisco, California; Pete Schlosser, Cocoa Pete's Chocolate Adventures; Deena Schwimmer, American Jewish Historical Society; Amy F. Stempler, Edward Kiev Judaica Collection, Gelman Library, The George Washington University; and Mark Wizniter.

References

1. Feinman, B. *The Jews Who Sailed with Columbus*. Available at http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Judaism/columbus.html. (Accessed August 31, 2006.)
2. Emmanuel, I. S. *The Jews of Coro, Venezuela*. Cincinnati, OH: American Jewish Archives, Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion, 1973.
3. Feingold, H. L. *Zion In America: The Jewish Experience from Colonial Times to the Present*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1974.
4. Kayserling, M. *Christopher Columbus and the Participation of Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries*. Translated by Charles Gross. New York: Longmans, Green, 1894.
5. Feingold, H. L. *Zion in America: The Jewish Experience from Colonial Times to the Present*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1974.
6. Kayserling, M. *Christopher Columbus and the Participation of Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries*. Translated by Charles Gross. New York: Longmans, Green, 1894.
7. Rosenblum, M. *Chocolate: A Bittersweet Saga of Dark and Light*. New York: Northpoint Press, 2005.
8. Terrio, S. J. *Crafting the Culture and History of French Chocolate*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
9. Ezratty, H. A. *500 Years in the Jewish Caribbean: The Spanish and Portuguese Jews in the West Indies*. Baltimore, MD: Omni Arts, 1977.
10. Dubiez, F. J. *De Portugees Israëlitische Gemeente te te Amsterdam*. Amsterdam, Holland: Privately published, undated.
11. Ezratty, H. A. *500 Years in the Jewish Caribbean: The Spanish and Portuguese Jews in the West Indies*. Baltimore, MD: Omni Arts, 1977.
12. Wiznitzer, A. The members of the Brazilian Jewish community (1648–1653). *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1952;42:387–397.
13. Kohut, A. Jewish martyrs of the Inquisition in South America. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1896;4:101–187.
14. American Jewish Historical Society. *American Jewish Desk Reference: The Ultimate One-Volume Reference to the Jewish Experience in America*. New York: Random House, 1999.
15. Gilman, S. *Jewish Frontiers: Essays on Bodies, Histories, and Identities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
16. Becker, M. *Jews in Suriname*. Chapter 4 Historical Timeline. Available at http://www.angelfire.com/mb2/jodensavanne/. (Accessed September 11, 2006.)
17. Weiner, R. *The Virtual Jewish History Tour: Vienna*. Available at http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/vjw/Vienna.html. (Accessed September 11, 2006.)
18. Terrio, S. J. *Crafting the Culture and History of French Chocolate*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
19. Arbell, M. *The Jewish Nation of the Caribbean: The Spanish–Portuguese Jewish Settlements in the Caribbean and the Guianas*. Jerusalem, Israel: Gefen Publishing House, 2002.
20. Adler, C. Original unpublished documents relating to Thomas Tremino de Sobremonte (1638). *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1909;17:27–31 (Inquisition Folio 270).
21. *Dominance of Ottoman Muslim Empire in Turkey: 1500–1920*. Available at http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/ottotime.html. (Accessed September 12, 2006.)
22. Anonymous. Epoca Colonial; Mexico Viejo, Noticias Históricas, tradiciones, leyendas y costumbres. Cited in: Process [or trial] of Gabriel de Granada (13 years old), observer of the Law of Moses, 1642 to 1645. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1899;7:1–127.
23. Ferry, R. J. *Don't Drink the Chocolate: Domestic Slavery and the Exigencies of Fasting for Crypto-Jews in Seventeenth Century Mexico*. Available at http://nuevomundo.revues.org/document934.html. (Accessed August 31, 2006.)

24. del Olmo, J. *Relacion historia del auto general de fe que ce celebro en Madrid en 30 de junio de 1680*. Madrid: Rocque rico de Miranco, 1680.

25. Liss, D. *The Coffee Trader: A Novel*. New York: Random House, 2003.

26. Bodian, M. *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997.

27. Bloom, H. I. *The Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1937.

28. Fortune, S. A. *Merchants and Jews: The Struggle for British West Indian Commerce, 1650–1750*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1984.

29. Adler, C., and Brunner, A. W. *America*. Available at http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=1384&letter=A&search=paramaribo. (Accessed September 14, 2006.)

30. Documents Relating to Colonial History of the State of New York, Volume 14, p. 135. Cited by Cone, G. H. The Jews in Curacao: According to Documents from the Archives of the State of New York. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1902;10:141–157.

31. Egerton Manuscript. British Museum, Volume 2395, f. 46. Cited by Oppenheim S. An Early Jewish Colony in Western Guiana, 1658–1666: and its Relation to the Jews in Surinam, Cayenne, and Tobago. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1907;17:95–186.

32. Meijer, J. Pioneers of Pauroma (Pomeroon), Paramaribo 1954, Based on the Compilation by R. Bjilsma. *Archief der Nederlandische Portageesh-Israelitische Gemeente in Suriname* pp. 23–24.

33. Arbell, M. *The Jewish Nation of the Caribbean: The Spanish–Portuguese Jewish Settlements in the Caribbean and the Guianas*. Jerusalem, Israel: Gefen Publishing House, 2002.

34. Adler, C., and Kohut, G. A. *Cayenne*. Available at http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=285&letter=C. (Accessed September 14, 2006.)

35. Arbell, M. *The Jewish Nation of the Caribbean: The Spanish–Portuguese Jewish Settlements in the Caribbean and the Guianas*. Jerusalem, Israel: Gefen Publishing House, 2002.

36. Diderot D. *Encyclopédie, ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une Société de Gens de lettres*. Paris, France: André Le Breton, 1751.

37. Ezratty, H. A. *500 Years in the Jewish Caribbean: The Spanish and Portuguese. Jews in the West Indies*. Baltimore, MD: Omni Arts, 1977.

38. Diderot D. *Encyclopédie, ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une Société de Gens de lettres*. Paris, France: André Le Breton, 1751.

39. Labat Pere, J.-B. *Nouveau voyage aux isle Françoise de l'Amérique*. Paris, France: G. Cavalier, 1722.

40. Birmingham, S. *The Grandees. America's Sephardic Elite*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1971.

41. Bloom, H. I. *The Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1937.

42. Emmanuel, I. S., and Emmanuel, S. A. *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*. Cincinnati, OH: American Jewish Archives, 1970.

43. Emmanuel, I. S. *The Jews of Coro, Venezuela*. Cincinnati, OH: American Jewish Archives, Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion, 1973.

44. Fortune, S. A. *Merchants and Jews: The Struggle for British West Indian Commerce, 1650–1750*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1984.

45. Corcos, J. A *Synopsis of the History of the Jews of Curaçao*. Curaçao: Imprenta de la Liberia, 1897.

46. Archivo General de Indias (AGI). Letter: Montero to the King, 9 April 1711 (Santo Domingo), Document 697.

47. Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Portales to the King, 29 January 1722 (Santo Domingo), Document 759.

48. Arbell, M. 2002. *Portuguese Jews—Pioneers of Cocoa and Vanilla Production in South America and the Caribbean: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*. Available at http://www.sefarad.org/publication/lm/046/7.html. (Accessed August 31, 2006.)

49. Becker, M. 2006. *Jews in Suriname*. Chapter 4 Historical Timeline. Available at http://www.angelfire.com/mb2/jodensavanne/. (Accessed September 11, 2006.)

50. *Letter of Abraham Beekman, Commandeur at Essequibo, to the West India Company*. Cited by Oppenheim S. An early Jewish colony in Western Guiana, 1658–1666: and its relation to the Jews in Surinam, Cayenne, and Tobago. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1907;17:95–186.

51. Calendar of British State Papers, Colonial 1669–1674, No. 570, pp. 298–300. Cited by Friedenwald, H. Material for the history of the Jews in the British West Indies. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1897;5:45–106.

52. Calendar of British State Papers, CO 116/19, Nos. 4, 4i–xii, Aug 9/20, 1700; Fort Kyck Overal, Rio Issquibe. Samuel Beekman to Directors of the Dutch West Indies Company, Middleburgh. (Original letter in obscure Dutch; translated in the Calendar of State Papers.)

53. Arbell, M. *The Jewish Nation of the Caribbean: The Spanish–Portuguese Jewish Settlements in the Caribbean and the Guianas*. Jerusalem, Israel: Gefen Publishing House, 2002.

54. Arbell, M. 2002. *Portuguese Jews—Pioneers of Cocoa and Vanilla Production in South America and the Caribbean: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*. Available at http://www.sefarad.org/publication/lm/046/7.html. (Accessed August 31, 2006.)

55. Friedman, L. M. *Jewish Pioneers and Patriots*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1948.
56. Emmanuel, I. S., and Emmanuel, S. A. *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*. Cincinnati, OH: American Jewish Archives, 1970.
57. Friedman, L. M. *Jewish Pioneers and Patriots*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1948.
58. Emmanuel, I. S., and Emmanuel, S. A. *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*. Cincinnati, OH: American Jewish Archives, 1970.
59. Marcus, J. R. *The Colonial American Jew, 1492–1776*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1970.
60. Arbell, M. *The Jewish Nation of the Caribbean: The Spanish–Portuguese Jewish Settlements in the Caribbean and the Guianas*. Jerusalem, Israel: Gefen Publishing House, 2002.
61. Becker M. *Jews in Suriname*. Chapter 4 Historical Timeline. Available at http://www.angelfire.com/mb2/jodensavanne/. (Accessed September 11, 2006.)
62. Emmanuel, I. S., and Emmanuel, S. A. *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*. Cincinnati, OH: American Jewish Archives, 1970.
63. Judah, G. F. The Jews' tribute in Jamaica. Extracted from the Journals of the House of Assembly of Jamaica. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1909;18:149–177.
64. Jamaica Jewish Community Collection (1–82), Box 1, Document Relating to Jews in Jamaica, American Jewish Historical Society, New York.
65. Navarro, L. D. Informes sobre la Provincia de Costa Rica, presentado al Capitan General de Guatemala en 1744. *Revista de Archivos Nacionales (Costa Rica)* 1939;3(11–12):583.
66. Long, E. *The History of Jamaica*. New York: Arno Press, 1972.
67. Dikland, P. Jodensavanne Foundation (Suriname). Scheepsreizen 1729–1794. Personal communication, dated June 6, 2005.
68. Becker, M. *Barter to Production*. Available at http://www.angelfire.com/mb2/jodensavanne/. (Accessed September 19, 2006.)
69. Marcus, J. R., and Chyet, S. F. *Historical Essay on the Colony of Surinam, 1788*. Translated by Simon Cohen. Cincinnati, OH: American Jewish Archives, 1974.
70. Arbell, M. *The Jewish Nation of the Caribbean: The Spanish–Portuguese Jewish Settlements in the Caribbean and the Guianas*. Jerusalem, Israel: Gefen Publishing House, 2002.
71. Wiznitzer, A. The exodus from Brazil and arrival in New Amsterdam of the Jewish Pilgrim fathers, 1654. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1954;44:80–99.
72. Birmingham, S. *The Grandees. America's Sephardic Elite*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1971.
73. Feingold, H. L. *Zion in American: The Jewish Experience from Colonial Times to the Present*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1974.
74. Documents Related to the Colonial History of New York. Vol. XIV, p. 315. Cited in Daly, C. P. *The Settlement of the Jews in North America*. New York: P. Cowen, 1893.
75. Peterson, E. *History of Rhode Island*. New York: J. S. Taylor, 1853.
76. Hershkowitz, L. Some aspects of the New York Jewish merchant and community, 1654–1820. *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 1976;66:10–34.
77. Hershkowitz, L. Original inventories of early New York Jews (1682–1763) (Concluded). *American Jewish History* 2002;90(4):385–448.
78. Bloch, J. M. *An Account of Her Majesty's Revenue in the Province of New York, 1701–09: The Custom Records of Early Colonial New York*. Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg Press, 1966.
79. Ben-Jacob, M. Nathan Simson: a biographical sketch of a Colonial Jewish merchant. *American Jewish Archives Journal* 1999;51(1–2):11–37.
80. Klooster, W. *Illicit Riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648–1795*. Leiden, the Netherlands: KITLV Press, 1998.
81. Emmanuel, I. S. *The Jews of Coro, Venezuela*. Cincinnati, OH: American Jewish Archives, Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion, 1973.
82. Nathan Simson. Shipper. The National Archives, Kew, England. Record Reference: C104/13-14. GB/NNAF/B22778. Microfilm copies at Nathan Simson, Correspondence, bills of lading, receipts and ledgers 1710–1725. American Jewish Archive, Cincinnati, OH, Reels 528, 528A, and 528B.
83. Emmanuel, I. S., and Emmanuel, S. A. *History of the Jews of the Netherlands Antilles*. Cincinnati, OH: American Jewish Archives, 1970.
84. Nathan Simson. Shipper. The National Archives, Kew, England. Record Reference: C104/13-14. GB/NNAF/B22778. Microfilm copies at Nathan Simson, Correspondence, bills of lading, receipts and ledgers 1710–1725. American Jewish Archive, Cincinnati, OH, Reels 528, 528A, and 528B.
85. Marcus, J. R. *Studies in American Jewish History: Studies and Addresses by Jacob R. Marcus*. Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College Press, 1969.
86. Hershkowitz, L. Some aspects of the New York Jewish merchant and community, 1654–1820. *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 1976;66:10–34.
87. Liber 36 of Conveyances, p. 50. Register's Office, New York County. Cited in Oppenheim S. Will of Nathan Simson, a Jewish merchant in New York before 1722, and genealogical note concerning him and Joseph Simson. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1917;25:87–91.

88. Nathan Simson. Shipper. The National Archives, Kew, England. Record Reference: C104/13-14. GB/NNAF/B22778. Microfilm copies at Nathan Simson, Correspondence, bills of lading, receipts and ledgers 1710–1725. American Jewish Archive, Cincinnati, OH, Reels 528, 528A, and 528B.

89. Ben-Jacob M. Nathan Simson: a biographical sketch of a Colonial Jewish merchant. *American Jewish Archives Journal* 1999;51(1–2):11–37.

90. Nathan Simson. Shipper. The National Archives, Kew, England. Record Reference: C104/13-14. GB/NNAF/B22778. Microfilm copies at Nathan Simson, Correspondence, bills of lading, receipts and ledgers 1710–1725. American Jewish Archive, Cincinnati, OH, Reels 528, 528A, and 528B.

91. Nathan Simson. Shipper. The National Archives, Kew, England. Record Reference: C104/13-14. GB/NNAF/B22778. Microfilm copies at Nathan Simson, Correspondence, bills of lading, receipts and ledgers 1710–1725. American Jewish Archive, Cincinnati, OH, Reels 528, 528A, and 528B.

92. Nathan Simson. Shipper. The National Archives, Kew, England. Record Reference: C104/13-14. GB/NNAF/B22778. Microfilm copies at Nathan Simson, Correspondence, bills of lading, receipts and ledgers 1710–1725. American Jewish Archive, Cincinnati, OH, Reels 528, 528A, and 528B.

93. Nathan Simson. Shipper. The National Archives, Kew, England. Record Reference: C104/13-14. GB/NNAF/B22778. Microfilm copies at Nathan Simson, Correspondence, bills of lading, receipts and ledgers 1710–1725. American Jewish Archive, Cincinnati, OH, Reels 528, 528A, and 528B.

94. Marcus, J. R. *The Colonial American Jew, 1492–1776*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1970.

95. Nathan Simson. Shipper. The National Archives, Kew, England. Record Reference: C104/13-14. GB/NNAF/B22778. Microfilm copies at Nathan Simson, Correspondence, bills of lading, receipts and ledgers 1710–1725. American Jewish Archive, Cincinnati, OH, Reels 528, 528A, and 528B.

96. Papers of James Alexander, New York Historical Society.

97. Naval Office List of Ships at Charleston, SC 1717–1767.

98. Diner, H. R., and Benderly, B. L. *Her Works Praise Her: Jewish Women in America from Colonial Times to the Present*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.

99. Fortune, S. A. *Merchants and Jews: The Struggle for British West Indian Commerce, 1650–1750*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1984.

100. Nathan Simson. Shipper. The National Archives, Kew, England. Record Reference: C104/13-14. GB/NNAF/B22778. Microfilm capies at Nathan Simson, Correspondence, bills of lading, receipts and ledgers 1710–1725. American Jewish Archive, Cincinnati, OH, Reels 528, 528A, and 528B.

101. Diner, H. R. and Benderly, B. L. *Her Works Praise Her: Jewish Women in American from Colonial Times to the Present*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.

102. Ezratty, H. A. *500 Years in the Jewish Caribbean: The Spanish and Portuguese Jews in the West Indies*. Baltimore, MD: Omni Arts, 1977.

103. Marcus, J. R. *The Colonial American Jew, 1492–1776*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1970.

104. Hershkowitz, L. Original inventories of early New York Jews (1682–1763). *American Jewish History* 2002;90(3):239–321.

105. Hershkowitz L. Original inventories of early New York Jews (1682–1763) (Concluded). *American Jewish History* 2002;90(4):385–448.

106. Fortune, S. A. *Merchants and Jews: The Struggle for British West Indian Commerce, 1650–1750*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1984.

107. Kohler, M. Phases of Jewish life in New York before 1800. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1894;2:77–100.

108. *Minute Books, Court of Chancery*, Volume 1720–1748, New York County Clerk's Office, Hall of Records.

109. *Minute Books, Court of Chancery*, Volume 1720–1748, New York County Clerk's Office, Hall of Records.

110. Miller, G. J. James Alexander and the Jews, especially Isaac Emmanuel. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1939;35:171–188.

111. *Maryland Gazette*, November 8, 1748. p. 4.

112. Nathan, J. *Jewish Cooking in America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994.

113. Greer, A. *Peasant, Lord, and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes 1740–1840*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

114. Roth, C. A Jewish voice for peace in the War of American Independence. The life and writings of Abraham Wagg, 1719–1803. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1928;31:33–75.

115. Roth, C. *Essays and Portraits in Anglo-Jewish History*. Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1968.

116. *Royal Gazette*, February 12, 1780, Issue 436, p. 3.

117. Sachar, H. *A History of the Jews in America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992.

118. Freund, M. K. *Jewish Merchants in Colonial America: Their Achievements and Their Contributions to the Development* of America. New York: Behrman's Jewish Book House, 1939.

119. Oppenheim, S. The first settlement of the Jews in Newport: some new matter on the subject. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1937;34:1–10.

120. Kohler, M. The Jews in Newport. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1898;2:61–80.
121. O'Callaghan, E. B. *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, New York*. Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1865.
122. Rhode Island Land Records (Public Notary), (1694–1708), Volume 2, 1671–1708, Providence, Rhode Island, p. 208.
123. Rhode Island Land Records (Public Notary), (1694–1708), Volume 2, 1671–1708, Providence, Rhode Island, p. 210.
124. Letter: Governor Edward Cornbury to the Lords of Trade [June 1705?] Doc. Rel., 1144. Peter Force Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
125. Kohler, M. The Jews in Newport. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1898;2:61–80.
126. Birmingham, S. *The Grandees. American's Sephardic Elite*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1971.
127. Kohler, M. The Jews in Newport. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1898;2:61–80.
128. Snyder, H. *Guide to the Papers of Aaron Lopez (1731–1782), 1752–94, 1846, 1852, 1953*. American Jewish Historical Society, Center for Jewish History. Available at http://www.cjh.org/nhprc/AaronLopez.html. (Accessed September 28, 2006.)
129. Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726–1800. CRI 1:66–72.
130. Aaron Lopez ledger books (555 and 715), Newport Historical Society, Newport, RI.
131. Marcus, J. R. *The Colonial American Jew, 1492–1776*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1970.
132. Marcus, J. R. *The Colonial American Jew, 1492–1776*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1970.
133. Fitzgerald, F. Brown University Looks at the Slave Traders in Its Past. *The NewYorker*, September 12, 2005, pp. 68–77.
134. Chyet, S. F. *Lopez of Newport: Colonial American Merchant Prince*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1970.
135. Korn, H. Documents relative to the state of Aaron Lopez. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1939;35:139–143.
136. Solomons, L. Sr. Items relating to the Solomons family, New York. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1920;27:278–280.
137. Anonymous. Miscellaneous items relating to Jews in New York. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1920;27:150–160.
138. Brown, M. G. All, all alone: the Hebrew Press in America from 1914–1922. *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 1969;59(2):139–178.
139. Carosso, V. P. A financial elite: New York's German–Jewish investment bankers. *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 1976;66(1):67–88.
140. Duker, A. G. Emerging cultural patterns in American Jewish life: the psycho-cultural approach to the study of Jewish life in America. *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 1949;39:351–388.